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FOR GOVERNOR. ROBERT HATTON, of Wilson. FOR CONGRESS, F. K. ZOLLICOFFER, of Davidson.

A. F GOFF.

(FOR REPRESENTATIVES,

JOSEPH L. EWING. M. VAUGHN, FOR JOINT REPRESENTATIVE,

HENRY MANEY, of Davidson, TUESDAY, JULY 28, 1857.

SUBSTANCE OF THE SPEECH OF COL. ROB'T HATTON, At Nashville, on Wednesday the 22d of July, in reply to Hon. ISHAM G. HARRIS.

My competitor, said Mr. Hatton, according to custom, has set up large claims for the Democratic party upon the country, calling it the National Democracy. Because the country has withstood the evil influences of Democracy, and continued, in spite of it, to prosper, he argues that to Democracy is to be attributed all its success, its growth and the happiness of its people. But is it a National party? Upon but one question of National policy is it National-the Independent Treasury. Are they for or against the building of the Pacific Railroad out of the National Treasury? I have asked Gen. Harris this question forty-five times in the presence of the people. His mouth has been hermetically sealed—no answer has he given. Like the sheep before the shearer he has been dumb. Are they for or against Internal Improvements by the General Government? The Cincinnati Platform says no ; the Democracy in the Senate, say, by their votes, yes. Which is right? Mr. Guthrie, the recent Secretary, of the Treasury, was for protection for protection's sake, as were many Democrats upon the floor of Congress. Another portion declare free the Territories, whilst another denounces it as a dangerous heresy, worse than the Wilmot Proviso. President Pierce and a Democratic Senate, gave away, last year, 23,000,000 acres of public lands. Gen. Harris says that is not Democracy, that Democracy does not favor that policy. Ye he speaks of the harmony and nationality of his party. They agree but in name, and in a puroose to hold on to the offices of the Government. He challenges me to give an instance where the Democracy of the North bave not stood by and protected the rights of the South. I will give him one in the last Congress. Upon the Minnesota Bill, every Northern Democrat, but two, voted with the Black Republican party, and against every Southern Democrat. That bill contained a clause, which Seward said was the best of Wilmot Provisos; which, if attached to all the territorial bills, would prevent another Slave State ever being formed out of our public domain. Here Abolitionism and Northern Democracy were in each other's embraces, defying the South ern Democrat and Whig and American, and triumphing in their iniquity. But, with a view of testing the confidence of | Hatton, is be youd all question.

my competitor in the soundness of the Northern ocracy upon slavery. I have more than forty times asked him if he would endorse them upon the subject of slavery in the Territories. If they were sound, there would be no danger; if they were not, there might be And notwithstanding all his declamation about their soundness, he has never yet had the nerve to say, -I endorse

are rivalling the Black Republican in their purpose to make it free territory. Will be endorse | carnest advocacy of Distribution. them? He will not dare to do it. Yet, this is that same James Buchanan of whom we heard so much last summer. He is the same man that Southern Democrats declared was sound, and could be fully relied on to protect Southern rights. Now, the more independent of the Southera Democracy are denouncing him as faithless and false to the South.

My competitor says there is a contest going on in the North between the Black Republicans and the Democracy. There is. About what? Just now, it is about who shall deserve the credit of making Kansas free. Mr. Douglass' organ says, "she will not owe ber freedom to the Abolition-

Gen. Harris has consumed a good portion of his time to-day, in talking about secreey and signs and oaths, and arguing to show that they are objectionable. I have been in the habit of saying to him, that if he thought it becoming the dignity of our discussions to spend his time in this species of miserable childsplay-talking of forms and ceremonies, and other things which he knew had now no existence, I should not object. But, that if he expected to thus draw me away from the discussion of questions of interest and importance to the people, he was greatly mis-

All I have to say about the former secrecy o the American Party is, that it was once by its members deemed expedient. Subsequently, when it was no longer thought necessary, all secrecy and forms were abolished. The Continental Congress, once, had secret sessions, and | selves? them ashamed of themselves.

But, says Gen. Harrris, your party is weak. If true, is that a sufficient reason why its principles should not be adopted, if correct. This same character of argument was used by the Tories in the days of our Revolution, to induce our fathers to abandon the struggle they were making for freedom. King George is strong, his lieving, he proposed to Congress to give a home-nostrils, as he careers along the banks of your armies are powerful. The Colonies are weak, stead, by act of that body, to the actual settler, beautiful rivers—if you want commercial facilities and the troops of Washington are deserting him, | Gen. Harris voted against the Homestead Bill, and | -railroads, to carry to the markets of the world, was the substance of their appeals. By our ancestors they were spurned, as reasons unworthy to influence men, who had rights, and had spirit to maintain them. Does such reasoning deserve more respect at our hands? Fillmore received near one million of votes, cast by bold and fearless freemen, who were then, amidst clouds and discouragements, willing, come triumph or defeat, to battle for the right; and who are still, with their harness on and their banners over them, ready and determined to continue to struggle for the establishment of principles which they deem essential to good governmentessential to our very liberties themselves.

But, says my opponent, your party put Hale in the Senate. Yours, Gen. Harris, did the same thing years before. Your party elected Wilson to the Senate, says Gen. Harris. His party in the same State elected Sumner to the Senate, a much abler and more dangerous man. Your party filled the House of Representatives with men who elected Banks Speaker. He was elected by virtue of a resolution of Mr. Smith, of Tennessee, a democrat, who is now arguing in this canvass to show that Banks made an excellent Speaker.

He (Gen. Harris) argues that if Buchanan had not been elected by the people, Fremont might have been elected by the House of Representatives, and the country been to-day in flames. Now, Gen. Harris, if he has informed himself, election. Yet, with a view of alarming you, he holds up a scare-crow, and says are you not glad Buchanan was elected?

tor's speech, I now invite your attention, said Mr. Hatton, to the Land question. Mr. Hatton said his competitor Gen. Harris, bad made an effort to impress those present with an

idea that there was nothing practicable in the land question, discussed by them; that it was an old question, recently galvanized, only for effect, in this canvass. In this position Gen. Harris differed very widely from his own party organ, the Union and American. That paper, but recently, had said that " in the unceasing din of slavery agitation," "much that is valuable in legislation and important to the country, has been measurably neglected, Other questions and interests are now pr s-ing themselves upon the attention of the people, and earnestly demanding their attention." 'Among these," says that paper, "is the present corrupt, fraudulent, and piratical land policy, which seems to be fastening itself upon the country."

He said, Gen. H. thought it strange Mr. Fillmore had not mentioned the subj et of Distribution, to Congress, during his administration. The reason was manifest. The Government was then in debt. It owed more, than it then had the money to pay, There was then, nothing to distribute. The general government has, now, an overflowing treasury. On the 2nd of December, 1856, our National debt, was a fraction over thirty millions of dollars. This sum said Mr. Pierce in his Message of that date, pose of it, by act of Congress

fore hern embarrassed from too large a surplus is

Such, said Mr. H., was the condition of our tressride for the deposite of the su plus in the treasury of the United States, with the several States," passed the House of Representatives by a majority. of forty, and among those voting for it, were a numher of the strongest State-rights Democrats in the South. The general government, said Mr. Hatton. was now rich. . The surplus of specie accumulated in the vaults of the Treasury, according to the report of the Secretary of the Treasury, at the end of this fiscal year, will be some \$22,000,000. Because distribution, then, was not press d upon Congress by Mr. Fillmore and Mr. Bell, during the Administration of Fillmore, when the Mexican war debt was unpaid, and the treasury empty, was no reason going into the treasury, more than is needed by the government, that a fair distribution of this So much said Mr. Hatton for Gen. H's, reasons for ber that fight for gain. supposing that there is nothing practical in the mestion of Distribution at this day. The public domain, of the United States, said

to the general government. Another portion of it | then, said Mr. Hatton, committed, by his own votes, we got from France, a part from Spain and a part from Mexico. There are, said he, about twelve But if the power of Cong hundred millions of acres, yet undisposed of. This Harris is still or posed to giving to Tennessee an land belongs to the people of Tennessee, just as it | acre of the public lands, or a cent of the proceeds does to the prople of Massachusetts-it is the com- of the sales. The present system suits him, he say -. man property of the people of the whole Union. My position in reference to it, said he, is that our right and interest in this splendid dom-in shell be, interest in these lands, let that interest be protectto other States, or land script, or warrants, or the lan's are sold by the general government, and the en away, as were sold. proceeds divided between the States, giving to condary consideration. Our great national parent, away to the land States Yet, Gen. Harris says

upon this question throughout the State. either to give to Tennessee an acre of land or land trade to be the true Democratic theory. One | en to Congress, to dispose of this public domain. | ocratic party in Congress, there can be no doubt. wing of the party avow squatter sovereignty in The power is unqualified-unrestricted, except that This purpose has been avowed. And Mr. Buchan the mode of disposition shall be such, as shall not | an, to his Inaugural, gives it his approbation. the constitution, said Mr. Hatton, would not the the minimum price is fixed at \$2.50 per scre. So, same power by which the General Government has | whilst Gen. Harris proposes to graduate the price sequired lands from other governments, enable it of the land down, the leaders of his party in the to dispose of those lands? The Supreme Court of | Senate, with his President, have been graduating the United States has decided that it would. The them up, and putting them out of the reach of the power to acquire, is not questioned by Gen. Harris. | poor m The power to dispose of, must follow, as a conse-

But Gen. H., said Mr. Hatton, argues that Con-

Gen. H , said Mr. Hatton, to show that Congress 20 000,000, or 15,000,000, or 10,000,000, or, if cannot give away "gratuitously," the public lands. | we cannot get more, 5,000,000 of acres, them. The reason is manifest. He knows that much for the opinions of Clay and Webster quoted want, establish Colleges and Schools sufficient to they have avowed a theory on the subject of by Gen Harris. How these two distinguished mee | educate every child in the State, free of charge to slavery in the territories, that is the worst spe- stood upon the constitutionality and expediency of the parent, and support the State government To-day, said Mr. Hatton, his President and his | one arising from the public lands, it is hardly necappointee, Mr. Walker, are pursuing a course in | essary to state. They were the leaders in Cou | Kinsas, that I challenge him to approve. They gress of the party that struggled to engraft that pol of repudiation. She was without credit without i y on the government, rivaling each other in their | Railroads, and without Public Schools. Her citi-

ists, but to the National Democracy-Northern ticipsted in making the cossions of land to Cou- lands undisposed of. said Mr. Hatton, and delivered to that body the utgument addressed to the people here to-day, how lowa, Illinois and Arkansas? much ashamed would they have been of them-

signs and oaths. Afterwards it was thought Mr. Buchanan, said Mr. Hatton, the President of prudent to abolish them, and it was done. Had | the United States-a Democrat of some little prommy competitor lived in that day he, no doubt, | inence-upon this question of the power of Conwould have taught our fathers better - made | gress to distribute the proceeds of the public lands. | Now, why, said Mr. Hatton, should Tennessee says, in a speech delivered in the American Sen- not have some of this land given her? How do atc, that I am right in claiming this power for Con-

> declares it unconstitutional. The opinions of Mr. | your corn and your wheat, and the other producweight with my dis inguished opponent.

The framers of our State Constitution recognized the power of Congress both to divide the lands | pry for them. How is it in Iowelf Railroads, as of the land, or the proceeds, whenever Congress | Congress | How is it in Illinois ! Her people have | Dars he not know that those territories will be dishould divide the lands, or distribute between the | as many railroads as they want, built out of your States the money arising from their sale

Upon a bill passed by Congress in 1846, giving Tennessee certain waste lands in West Tenness see, and the proceeds of such as had been recounly realized from your lands and mine, voted to Arsold, every Democrat from Tennessee voting upon kansas by my competitor, Gen. Harris. the bill, embracing Stanton, Chase, and Cullom, voted for it, conceding the power of Congress to Unfortunately many of them--the children of imive to the States land.

public lands were voted away to the States, for are destined to be unseen sud unknown by the

authorities, I now introduce my competitor before nation; but, who, for want of an education, will world, just landed on our shores, shall be perou as a sworn witness to testify upon this quest continue forever in obscurity, of but little service mitted to vote in the territories, in the election of tion. When in Congress, he world for what was to society-like the jewel upon the bottom of the members to the legislature and to the convention called the Swamp Land act, giving away about for- sea, unobserved and valueless. Those of our chil- to frame a constitution. But, before speaking fur- Polk said he was opposed to that feature of the knows Fremont stood no chance for an election ty sight millions of the public lands. A large por- dren who favors and Oregon bill, which he approved as President. in the House. The organ of his own party, the | tion of these lands were the very best in the expense of the parent, our school fund being so | who opposes it. Union, as well as that of Fremont, the Era, at | Mississippi valley. He has argued to show you | small as to be of little, if any service. Washington, both stated this previous to the that it was a sale and not a gift of the lands. He In Jowa, how is it? There the child of misfor- only willing that the unnatural zed man shall vote have told him forty-five times in this canvass, is speaks of them as "swamp and overflowed lands," | tune and poverty, as well as of wealth, is to be | in the first territorial election, but is willing that the | not only opposed to the alien voting in the terwhen the very terms of the bill itself, contemplate | thoroughly educated out of your lands and mine. | Territorial Legisl-ture shall authorize him to vote in | ritories, but any where, until he has been here the giving away of lands that have not been wet | In A.k. nsae they are to be educated out of your since the days of Nosh's flood, except when rained property and mine, without calling on the parent a constitution. Who else is in favor of this doc- one system of logic for Mr. Polk and another for Having disposed of this part of my competi-

> hons of scree to her? The Governor, in his last roads, in educating her children, and relieving her message, in speaking of it says to the Legislatore, | people of burthers that are oppressing them? that it was a 'munificent gift from the General Government," never having dreamed that it was as Congress giving to Tennessee her share of the pub-Gen. H. argues, a sale. How eingular that the lie lands, or one acre of them. He offers several people of a State, making such a purchase should objections. He says it would cost something to and ponis there, breeding mularia and death, have it done. But, says he, it would increase the stitution; I protest against it in the name of the which prevented the country from being settled - number of landbolders. Suppose it did. Did be rights of American citizens; I protest against it is that he was fully authorized by the constitution in | not largely increase the number of landbolders in | the name of American liberty; I protest against it his vote for that bill. I have been, said Mr. H , in voting sway to the States 48,000,000 acres of lane? on every ground which the American mind can pos-

t, but, on the contrary, heartily approve of his veting land to the soldier. I should have done just ary, during the last Congress, that a bill "to pro- as he did. But one thing I would not do, and that is, after voting, in Congress, to give the soldier land, I would not argue before the people that Con-

gress had not the power to give land to the sol-But, said Mr. H., my opponent asks if the pittance of \$7 per month is enough pay to the soldier. I have been in the habit of telling him in reply to this, that if our soldiers were to be paid in money, for defending their country, I thought it was not enough; but, whether it was or not, he had voted himself, in Congress, against giving our regular soldiers more than \$7 per month. It is not, however, gain-for money-that our gallant citizen soliery go to the wars. Was it for this that your why, now, that there is a large smout annually | Foster and your Chestham led their companies from your midst? No. They went to fight for their ountry, her honor, her standards, her soil-for glomoney should not be made, between the States. ry and a glorious fame! It is the Vandal and rob-

But what was this bill voted for by Gen. H? It was n 'Bounty land bill" What is a bounty?
A gift, a gratuity something given. How singular Mr Hatton, was acquired, in part, from the old then is it to hear Gen. Harris insisting that he did States, that ceded their waste and unsettled lands | not vote to give land to the soldier. Gen. Harris is

But if the power of Congress is granted, Gen. There is no need for any change. What was the policy of the government during the past year, it reference to the public lands? With a democratic f practicable, secured to us. If T nnessee has an President, and a democratic Senate, 23,000,000 of acres of the public lands were last year given away Whether land is given us, as has been given to a few of the States, for schools and railroad pur poses. About three times as many acres were giv-

Within comparatively a few years past, 105 000. Tennessee her just proportion, is a matter of se- | 000 of acres of the public lands, have been given sai liMr. Hatton, is rich-is able to disponse boun- that the lands are being held by the government ties to the States. Let Tennessee not be over- and disposed of just as fast as they are needed for looked. Let her receive a fair proportion of the acttlement and ou tivation, at prices ranging from estate disposed of. Such has been my position, 124 cents to \$1 25 per sere, furnishing a homestead to the poor man. The truth is said Mr. Hatton, But Gen. Harris, argues, said Mr. Hatton, that they are being given away by the million of acres, Congress has no power, under the constitution, to the new States, by which they are to be sold for such prices as they can be made to bring, and not warrants, or to distribute among the States, the | at graduated prices to suit the poor man. W. tle proceeds of the sales of the lands. The 3rd section | Gen. Harris, in Tennessee, advocates the graduaof the 4th article of the Federal Constitution | tion policy, and condemns the policy of giving declares, that "Congress shall have power to away alternate sections of the public lands, the dem dispose of, and make all needful rules and ocratic Senate, with a democratic President, have regulations respecting, the Territory or other approved and practiced, what he, so much onpose property belonging to the United States." the alternate section policy. That this policy will Here, said Mr Hatton, is full and ample power giv | continue to be practiced by the leaders of the dem-"prejudice any claims of the United States, or any | The alternate sections of land r served by the particular State." But, outside of this clause of Government, are not sold at graduated rates, but

But, said Mr. Hatton, some of you may be inpriring what I am in favor of-what I propose. As Congress has given to a number of the States porgress has not the power to impose a tax on the pec- | tions of the public lands, so I want Congress to do ple with a view to a distribution of the amount by Tenn see. I do not stop to complain at what raised amongst the States, and quotes Mr. Clay and | has been given to the other States, if we can have Webster to sustain his position. That such a step an equal or reasonable portion given to us. Our would be unconstitutional is not denied; and no | full share of the public domain would amount to proof need have been introduced by G. n. H. to about 60,000,000 acres. I have never proposed prove what is not questioned. The first step, would that more than 30,000,000 acres should be set e unnut) orized by the constitution. But, that | saide to Tennessee, in the event it should be the's ingres has a general power to dispose of the ter- expedient to give us our proportion, in lands. This rivery and all "other property" rightfully acquired, would leave half the public domain in the hands of "belonging to the United States," I maist, said Mr. the General Government. If we cannot get 30. 000,000 of acres-if there are objections to divid-But the opinion of Mr. Webster is produced by ing out so much of the public domain—let us have

To divide between the several States, portions of Would the lands be of service to us, said Mr these lands-to give portions of them off, to the | Hatton? They certainly would. Iowa received States, to which, it is admitted, they belong, is not from Congress 8,000,000 acres of public lands .to give them away gratuitously, but is simply be- | Out of this land, say her public officers, that State stowing them upon those entitled to them. So will be able to build as many Ralroads as they tistributing between the States, the surplus reve | without taxing the citizens one cent to aid in doing

Illinois, but a few years ago, was upon the eve zens were oppressed with taxation. What is her But what evidences, said Mr. Hatton, have I that | condition now? Gen. Harris, when in Congress, I am not in error, in insisting that Congress can voted to that State near two million of acres of give away land or distribute the proceeds? The | what he calls swamp lands, but which were amongst very first Congress that met, after Virginia ceded | the best lands in that State. By another bill Conher lands to the United States, did give portions of | gress gave her 5,000 000 of acres for Railroad purpublic lands, in kind (not the proceeds) to the then poses. What is her condition now? She has a thirteen States of the Union. (See Bioren & Du- Railroad running from one corner of the State to ane's edition of the laws of the United States, vol. | the other, with branches extending to every part 1, page 564.) This law was three years afterwards | of the State, affording to her people commercial altered by Congress, so as "to distribute the pro- facilities almost unequaled. Last year she received ceeds of the lands, in the form of government se- \$147,000 out of the proceeds of the road, which curities, instead of the lands themselves. Yet, went into her treasury, to assist in defraying the notwithstanding the men of that day-of those expenses of the State government. It is estimated Congresses - men, who had - many of them - par | that there is still about \$30,000,000 worth of those

grest, and upon the floor of the convention, sided | Gen. Harris voted to the State of Arkansas ten in framing the constitution, notwith-tanding the-e millions of acres of land-swamp land as he calls men, thought Congress had power to give to the it. Of what service is that land likely to prove to States lands, and to distribute between them, their | that State? Gov. Conway, in his last message to proceeds, still my opponent denies that they had | the Legislature, speaking of this land said, out of power to do either. Those were very dark days this 'munificent gift from the General Governin the opinion of my competitor. Those men did | ment," that State would be able, after complying not, according to his argument, understand those | with the act of Congress, to complete "all the prodeeds of cession or the constitution. They did not | jected raironds" in Arkansas. And furthermor , comprehend the design, or rightly estimate the he says, it will "create a fund sufficient to pay the power of the work of their own hands. They need. State taxes in all future time, as well as endow ed light. Gen. Harris had not then delivered, through | colleges and schools, for the education of every Fennessee, a series of lectures upon the constitu- child in the State," My competitor in speaking of tion-had not, then, written a commentary upon this land question characterizes it, in elegant and chivalrous boys, wrapped in their blankets, as their that instrument. Had he been in Congress then, | courly phrase, as a galvanized humbug. Would

Other instances, said Mr. Hatton, might be given Bustrating the advantages that have, and will result to other States from grants of land that have been made to them from Congress. Those given are sufficient.

you, said he, get Railroads in Davidson county? gress, and that Gen. Harris is in error, in denying | How do you get them in Tennessee? If you want o hear the neigh of the iron-horse in your moun Andrew Johnson, the Governor of Tennesser, a tain passer, if you want to hear the ringing of his Democrat also, of some little prominence, says that | hoofs, upon the iron track, as he runs across your Congress can give away the public lands, and so be- plains, if you want to see the fire flaming from his Buchanan and Gov. Johnson seem to have but lit- tions of your farms, how do you get them? You pay for them out of your own pockets. Your hard dollars, earned by hard labor, are taken to d distribute their proceeds among the States, by | many as they want, are being built for her citizens serting in it a clause providing for the disposition ont of my land and yours, voted to that State, by The Governor has told us in his message, her pro--cted railroads are all to be completed, out of means

How are our children in Tennessee educated? providence and misfortune-are not educated at all Last year twenty three millions of acres of the | Many of th m, like the flowers upon our mountains, alroads and schools. The bills making these do- world; must remain in seclusion and ignorance for-

But, sald Mr Hatton, my opponent objects to have never discovered that it was a purchase, but | survey the lends, and set apart to Tenuesses a por mould always have thought it a gift. But my com- tion; suppose it did. That is no reason for not petitor insists that the lands were wet and over having it done. The lands will pay for their own ing; I protest against it in the name of my party; lowed, and of no value, that there were marshes division, and it will not cost us a dollar in money to the habit sometimes of telling the people that my Yes. Did it hart anybody? No. Nor would the sibly concrise, as an outrage upon us, upon the lowed to regulate their domestic institutions in competitor was the first "matured states nan" I creation of just "thirty-one" endanger the rights Constitution, the lowe, and the privileges which we their own way, and argues that inhabitants ever knew, who, when determining a grave consti- of any person or State. Another objection is, Tauational question, was in the babit of spitting on a nessee's land would have to be laid off in amother chip, like a boy at the play ground, and throwing | State. Would that do any harm? Virginia hold

of Congress. Now, said Mr. H. I do not object to jure either State? No. Then why this apprehen- your institutions before they can take an active parsion of Gen Harris? He is needlessly apprehen- ticipat on in making your luces.

sive of difficulty. Well satisfied am I, said Mr. Hatton, that the their rights in our public domain.

To the policy of distributing among the States | and advocates it. the proceeds of the sales of the lands, Gen. Harris makes objection. He makes a calculation to show organ at this place, has repudiated it. That paper that the amount to which each citizen would be en- not long since said : titled would be only five cents a year. Now for the last four years the net proceeds of the sales of the of "sham Democracy" and "Black R publicanism lands have been, per year, about seven millions of but it is not, and never was a doctrine of the real ioliars. Divide this amount between the States, Democracy which supported and triumphantly electaccording to population, and Tennessee would get ed James Buchanan to the Presidency. It was about \$230,000. Make those States that have re- never a recognized article in the creed of that Deceived a large portion of their share in the lands morracy to which the Union and American becount for what they have gotten, and the share longs." of Tennessee would be largely over \$230,000. But My competitor is, then, not a real, but only a let us see what would have been the amount of the | shown Democrat. hare of Tennessee in the lands that last year went out of the hands of the General Government into the hat da of States and individuals.

Twenty-three millions of acres were given away by Congress. At one dollar per acre, that land would have brought \$23,000,000; add that amount to the \$8,000,000 received from the sales, and you smaller States would not get an equal share with the larger ones. Divide according to populati in, and the share of Tennessee would amount to a million and a quarter of dollars. Yes, Tennessee would, ast year, have been entitled to one and a quarter illions of dollars out of the lands disposed of by the General Government. This statement is not what we would get, would amount to but little. It would soon create a fund sufficient to educate libcrally every child in the State, complete our railroad system, and make Tennessee one of the most sappy, thriving, and independent governments on the face of the earth,

But if you take the land fund out of the national

arranged as to furnish just enough revenue for the | CONSTITUTIONAL OBLIGATIONS. wants of the Government, and let the land fund be disposed of among the States, and not be "looked to before they are naturalized. That they are hostile as a source of revenue" The platform of my oppo- to our peculiar institution in the South cannot be neat's party-adopted at Nashville, in the Conven- denied. That they are filling up our public dotion that nominated him-takes this precise ground | main is admitted. That they will exclude the he language of President Jackson, that the public | my competitor in the face of his party in the South, lands should cease to be looked to as a source of takes position with the Black Republican of the revenue." Notwithstanding this, Gen. Harsis ob- North, and says I t them vote. A great friend of cords of the lands are not "looked to" and used as | those who are hestile to us, and to put weapons in-

revenue, serious injury will result. poses the building of ships as one means of getting | ns, as they may choose. rid of it. It is notorious that a large portion of his and will oppose any farther reduction. But even gone through the forms prescribed by our Federal 15 per cent, still Senator Hunter thinks it would | willing for that man to sit in judgment upon your

the government. But before leaving this land question, said Mr. the fact that lows, and Himois, and Arkansas, Wis- the wild thorn and thistle, -your children shell no Why any distinction? Why not make all equally able, so far as a share in the national bounty is conchildren of the confederacy.

A father has four boys. He is wealthy. The two | slavery shall be es ablished or not. older worked bard in early life-toiled early and late -helped their father to accumulate his estate and o raise and to educate their two younger brothers. 'he younger boys are at home, living in ease and laxury. The father has given to each a large portion of his land, a number of his slaves and money and stock. Their children are walking the halls of splendid colleges and schools, riding in splendid carriages and "living in very fatness every day." They are clothed with their children in silks and in linens and dwelling in palaces. The two older boys are among strangers. They are living in buts; their children are in rags, with no advantages of education; they are in debt and have not the means of meeting their liabilities. In a word they are in embarrassment and poverty. Has the father dealt justly between his children? You all say no. Well, the old States of the Union gave portions of these lands to the general government, the balance has been purchased with the blood and treasure of the people of the old States, Tennessee among the number. In the recent war with Mexico the blood of her gallant sons ran like water upon the plains of that republic. The bones of many bleach now upon her hills. The forms of many of Tennessee's only winding sheet, lie to-day, beneath her sands you not like to see Tennessee humbugged, as was | As a consequence of that war, we acquired what now constitutes a portion of this public domain. Now, why shall our younger elsters among the States, in the North and Northwest, why shall the new States, the population of which in many instances, is made up to a large extent of aliens, who either themselves nor their ancestors ever fought relieve them from the burthens of toxation, whilst see is to-day, in debt, without the means of educa debt to be paid more than she can meet without

h avily taxing her citizens to do it. My time, said Mr. Hatton, will not permit me which the people of Tennessee were vitally inter-

The subject of Alien Suffrage, said Mr. H., has een bri fly discussed, to-day by Gen. Harris. He egins by endeavoring to show that it is not a praccal question, for the reason that our territories have territorial governments organized for them. vided and sub-divided, and that many other terriland and mine. How is it to be in Arkansas? \_\_ | torial governments will have to be formed? He certainly does. Then this reason of his, to show that there is nothing in the question, fails him.

But it was not thus he spoke of this subject, in the opening of this canvass. He then argued carnestly to show, that as a matter of right and justice, the alien should be allowed to vote in the territories-that it would be ungenerous and ungrateful in our people not to bet him vote.

But what is this doctrine of Alien Suffrage, said Mr. Hatton? It is the doctrine that the alien, the nations of land, were passed by a D mocratic Sen- ever, for want of the means of education. Yes, in unnaturalized man, the subject of a foreign and ate, and approved as expedient and constitutional | Tennessee, there is many a poor child of genius | perhaps nostile government, who could not be made y Mr. Pierce, a Democratic President. Yet Gen | who, it his mind was cultivated, the advantages of | to shoulder a musket, to bear a knap-sack, to de-Harris says Congress has no power to give lands to a good education afforded him, might become the lend your flag, or your soil, but who might be ornament of society, a blessing to community, the | draughted into the armivs of your enemies-it is But, said Mr. Ha ton, not to enumerate other pride of his county or his State, and perhaps of the the doctrine, that this man, fresh from the old

to contribute one cent to assist m doing it. And so trine? Seward and Hale, and Wilson, and Fessen- Mr. Fillmore. Ten millions of acres of these lands went to the it is to be in Wisconsin, Michigan and other States | den, and Giddings, and the whole Black Republican State of Arkansas. Did that State understand the Why this difference? Why not give to Tennessee party of the North are for it. My compenter and men who voted for the Kansas bill is still less bill, voted for by Gen. H., as selling these ten mil- a portion of these lands, to assist in building her they make the same character of argument in its support-stand together in its advocacy.

Who are opposed to it? said Mr. Hatton. Every Senate repudiated it, voting against and denouncing it. Senator Brown, of Missiesippi, one of the greatest lights of Southern Democracy, speaking n the last Congress of this very doctrine avowed by Gen. H., said: "I protest against this proceed-I protest against it in the name of a violated con-

Again, in speaking of these aliens whom Gen. Harris argues should be allowed to vote, that some knows that it was not intended to express any it up saying wet or dry? In one of the Congrestitle to a large quantity of land in Ohio until the distinguished gentlemen said; "What a mockery, opinion as to soho should vote in the territories, should Districts of West Tennessee the inquiry has year 1852, making titles to purchasers. Did that been instituted, I am informed, how many craw-fish hurt Ohio or Virginia? No. Did it prevent Ohio allow such people to go to the polls and cote! Who be governed. Yet he seizes on that and a similar and tad-poles must there be upon a quarter section from growing in all the elements of greatness - from does not know that they are led up like extile to the lar one voted for by General Zollicoffer, as the of the public lands to render is constitutional to dis- building railroads and canals, churches and school- hallet bures, and vote as they are told to water That | ground for the declaration that they too, are, houses, large cities and brantful villages? No. a wooden machine would perform the service as in- to use his favorite expression, committed to it. could "be paid within a year, without embarrassing the public service." Mr. Buchanan, in his finan u
clearly committed to the doctrine of th rel says "our present financial condition was without a parallel in history. No nation has ever beout a parallel in history. No nation has ever beout a parallel in history. No nation has ever beout a parallel in history. No nation has ever beout a parallel in history. No nation has ever beout a parallel in history. No nation has ever beout a parallel in history. No nation has ever beout a parallel in history. No nation has ever beout a parallel in history. No nation has ever beout a parallel in history. No nation has ever beout a parallel in history. No nation has ever beout a parallel in history and all other national for many years. Did that burst true beyond all question. The gentax of your laws, that Gen. Harris in his avowal of the doctring of

Senators Bayard, and Mason, and Clay were equally decided in their opposition to the doctrine, sensible men of Davidson county will not suffer in the same debate, characterizing it as a dangerthemselves to be slarmed by these creations of the ous heresy, violative of the rights of the people of magination of my competitor, from the assertion of these Scates, and at war with all sound principle and good government. Yet Gen. Harris avows The Union and American, Gen. Harris's own

"Alien suffrage my be an article in the creed

Roger Payor, the old editor of the Richmond Enquirer, speaking upon this subject uses this strong language:

"Our position is unequivocally this: that it is a palpable infringment of the spirit and letter of the Constitution to permit foreigners to exercise the elective franchise, in either the States or Terrihave \$31,000,000. Divide that amount between 31 tories before, by naturalization, they are made cit-

But is there any danger in this doctrin ? Have we, in the South, anything to few from it? Foreigners are now, coming to this country more rapdly than ever before. For three days ending 31 July, says a New York paper, the number of foreigners that arrived at that single part was eight thousand and eight hundred. They are flocking to questioned by Gen. Harris, still, he argues that our Territories, eighty-four out of every hundred of them setcling in the North?

Andrew Ewing, of this city, in a speech in Congress, in 1850, speaking of them as connected with nstitution of Slavery said:

"THE WHOLE OF CIVILIZED EUROPE HAS BEEN THOROUGHLY INDOCTRINATED WITH OPPOSITION TO IT (SLAFERY.) THE THOUSANDS AND MILLIONS OF EMIreasury, it will create a deficiency there, says Gen. | GRANTS FROM HER (Europe's) SHORES, ALL COME Harris, that will have to be supplied by a tax on | WITH THEIR PREJUDICE AGAINST IT, and when they the people of the States. Not so. Without the arrive in this country they find the most lovely land fund, there is more revenue derived from du- portion of the continent in possession of slaveties on imports, than is needed for the support of | iolders. Most of m chanical trades and labor on he Government. Under the present reduced tariff, farms and public roads in our country is perform-Senator Bunter, of Virginia, a distinguished demo- ed by slaves, and these foreigners are more or crat, estimates that more revenue will be collected less excluded from this wide field of employmen', by between four and five millions of dollars, than | which they had partially pre-occupied in the South be sufficient to support the government. Then, Interest is thus superadded to the early prejudice of if the proceeds of the lands are taken from the education against stavery Unfortunately too, the reasury, and given to the States, there will be still large mass of this class of persons have had no pure money in the vaults of the Government than knowledge or experience of the advantages derivable s nece-sary for its support. Let the Tariff be so from republican institutions or the SOLMESTY OF

Yet my competitor says put them to voting even n reference to the proceeds of the lands, declaring | Southern man with his slave from our territories if their sixth resolution that, "it is indeed time, in | permitted to vote, is manifest, yet strange to say, ects to distribution, on the ground, that if the pro- | the South, he is willing to help swell the ranks of to their hands-to ballot-with which to strike But how does Gen. Harris propose to get rid of us down. A Southern man, he is willing to see the the su plus money in the treasury? He says far- strength of the Northern States that oppose our inther reduce the Tariff. This is not proposed by stitution of slavery, swell dont of all proportion to Mr. Buchanan nor by any considerable portion of our own by means of this alien vote, giving them his party. Mr. Buchanan, in his Inaugural, pro- the power upon the floor of Congress, to do with

Yes, he is willing that the subjects of other govparty opposed the present reduced rates of duties, ernments-unnaturalized men-who have never if the Tariff was reduced to an ad valorem duty of statutes, for making a citizen, of the alien, he is vield revenue abundantly sufficient for the wants of | rights in our territories, and assist in determining | Hatton, I have a simple inquiry to make of you, enclosure of one of you, and say to your wife, such a resoluti supported by a direct tax upon all its citizens, would | where the lilly and the rose now bloom, shall grow consin and Michigan and other States have received longer gambol upon those gravelled "alks" What large grants of your land to build their Railroads, would you do with him? With surpes, you would ducate their children, and relieve their citizens of drive the impudent intruder from your premises. the burthens of the State Government, would that, Out in our great gard-n of the West, inherited repeated Mr. Hatton, cause the people of those from our fathers and purchased with the treasure States to pay more tax to the support of the gen- and the blood of our brothers, are thousands and eral Government? No. It is not pretended that thousands of alieus, many of them, the outwould. Then why not give the other States, as casts of society in the old world, who have been to those just named, portions of the public land. | turned out of her prisons and her lazar-houses, shipped to this country and poured out upon our shores, chamoring for what they call and what Gen. cerned, to contribute to the support of the general Harris calls their right to vote, to decide what Government? Let justice be done between all the shall be the laws and the peculiar institutions of our territories - whether the domestic institution of

Is this our country? asked Mr. Hatton. If it s, let us govern it. That it should be governed by the subjects of other countries, by aliens and strangers, and that they shall have a voice before they are naturalized in saying what shall be the laws or the institutions of any part of it, is a doctrine that is infamous and smells to the very

heavens here to-day.

But my competitor argues that his theory will only let the allen vote once, that is, in the first territorial election. He has gone farther than that in saying he is willing to let the territorial egislature authorize the alien to vote for mempers to subsequent legislatures and for members to the convention to frame a constitution. This was just what Senators Brown and Mason, and Bayard and Clay, and other Southern Democratic senators, were denouncing and protesting against in their speeches on the floor of the last ongress, referred to by me a few minutes since If allowed to vote in the first election they will have influence sufficient to elect men who will, by legislative enactment, allow them to vote in sub-

sequent elections; which, if permitted by Congress, and General Harris says Congress should not interfers with the question after the Legislature has acted-will result in giving them such power in our territories, as will, according to Mr. Seward, prevent another Slave State ever being formed out of our public domain. But with a view of shielding himself, my competitor argues that Washington and the elder

Presidents, as well as Pierce and Fillmore, and every Southern man in Congress in 1854, but eight, approved this doctrine of alien suffrage. or paid one cent for their lands, why shall our lands | In reference to Washington and Jefferson I have be given to them, for railroads, and schools, and to said to General Harris, he could not show me a line or syllable in any thing either of them ever the older States are passed by and left, as Tennes | wrote, warranting the idea that they favored alien suffrage. The bills signed by them, acting her children, building her railroads, and with a cording to Senator Biggs of North Carolina, a distinguished Democrat, in a speech in the last Congress, do not admit of the construction attempted to be given them by General Harris, nger to dwell upon this subject. He wished it and the signing of these bills is the only ground dit, as it was a question of dollars and cents, in upon which he bases the assertion that they were committed to it.

But even had those men once signed bills containing this doctrine, it would furnish no reason satisfactory to show that it is not now danger ous. By our first constitution in Tennesse, free negroes were allowed to vote. Among the framers of that constitution were some of the best men ever in the State. This is no reason why they now should vote. In the days of Washington and Jefferson, there were but a few thousand foreigners in the whole nation. Now they are counted by millions, and are coming, in the language of Andrew Ewing, by thousands and milons—this year more rapidly than ever before and filling up and overrunning our public domain. To let them rule it and give character to its institutions, is "very madness."

But was Polk committed to it? Gen. Harris says yes. Why? He signed the Oregon bill, which contained it, which shows he approved it. But did not that same bill contain the Wilmot Proviso? It did. Was Polk in favor of that? So, says my competitor. What singular logic! Was Fillmore in favor of it? General Barris

argues to show he was. Why? He signed, says Seneral Harris, the Washington Territoral bill, containing it. Polk signed the Oregon bill with the Wilmot Proviso in it, and General Harris says that did not commit him to Wilmet Provisoism. Why? Because says my competitor, Mr. Now, General Harris knows, if he has taken any the election of members to the convention to frame | twenty-one years and been naturalized. He has

His effort to make a shield out of the Southern supporters of that bill did every thing in their power to get the alien feature out of that bill, Democrat from the South upon the floor of the last | and that it was only when they saw they could not pass the bill at all without that feature in it, that they consented to vote for the bill containing that clause. They voted for it under protest, as a matter of necessity, as my competitor knows; yet he argues that their voting for it shows that they-were for it. That such a shallow sophistry abould emanate from a "matured statesman" like my competitor, is remarkable. But Mr. Bell, says the General, is committed

to the doctring. How? By a resolution he introduced into Congress in 1859, declaring that the "inhabitants" of a territory should be almeans more than citizens. Now, if he knows any thing of the history of that resolution, he

Abolitionists of the North. But, says the General, suppose I do stand with Seward and Hale on this question, did not your party vote against the Nebraska till, which re-

sealed the Missouri Compromise line, that line that kept the Southern man out of Kansas and Nebraska with his slave? If this was wrong in them it is no excuse to you for doing wrong yourself. But did Gen. Harris ever make a speech in Congress, in which he referred to this Missou-Compromise line? He did. Did he denounce it? What did he say? "The Oregon bill was the result of, and in sub-

ordination to, the Missouri Compromise. The Missouri compromise, as a legislative enactment. believe, and have always believed, to be void or the want of constitutional sanction. Yet I called for. have no hostility towards it; it is a compromi entered into by the patriotic statesmen of that day for the preservation of the peace of the counry; it had for a time the desired effect; it has en acquiesced in for thirty years by the peole, and I should, therefore, regret to see it vi-

He had "no hostility" to it-would "regret to ee it violated." Last summer he argued through Pennessee, that Fillmore should be voted against for regretting its repeal, when he had said him elf he would "regret to see it violated," Last Summer, it was, in his estimation, a blot upon the statute book-an insult to the South. Then he had "no hostility toward it." Now, said Mr. Hatton, I call on him, as I have

one every day in the canvass, to tell you what e meant by this language. Instead of doing it ne will satisfy himself with mere declamatieaving you without any explanation at all. My competitor speaks of my record. Before oticing what he has said, I will call your atten-

on to another point in his. As a member of the Tennessee Legislature, he stroduced a series of resolutions, and among hem was the following : Resolved, That under no circumstances will

his body recognize, as binding, any enactment of the Federal Government which has for its ob ect the prohibition of slavery in any territory to acquired, either by conquest or treaty, south the line of the Missouri Compromise Let Congress pass the law, let the President sign it, let the Supreme Court say it is constitutional and binding, on all the States, still by this solution Gen. Harris was attempting to get the

gislature to declare that it would not be recnized as binding by the General Assembly of ennessee. He was for making the Legislature assume what is the exclusive prerogative of the Federal Judiciary, of deciding whether a law of ongress was binding or not. The committee to nich it was referred, reported through their chairman, one of the most accomplished politicians in Tennessee, that the resolution was Inllification in advance."

He was attempting to commit Tennessee to a osition which is at war with our system of Govament, recommending a principle violative of he constitution, and for the attempted practical forcement of which, Jackson threatened to hang ohn C. Calhonn as high as Haman! We will ear what he has to say about it, in his reply.

He says I voted against a certain resolution claring that "the people of a Territory should left free to form their domestic institutions in their own way, subject only to the constitution of the United States. Yet Congress may pass such laws as are necessary and proper for the restoration of fugitives from service." With my party the Legislature I voted against that reso ion. Why? To the latter part we had no obection, of course. To the first part we had. And that was, that whilst the language as construed by Southern statesmen, was expressive of our views, yet as construed by the Northern Democrats, it contained the doctrine of Squatter Sov ereignty. We preferred another form of expreseignty. We preferred another form of expres-on, not of doubtful construction, as to when and have changed the style of our firm to Morgan, Pium the people of a Territory can determine the whether you shall go there with your negro or not. | character of their domestic institutions, to con-Should a stranger, said Mr. Hatton, enter the | vey our meaning, and on the same day voted for

But on the same day, he says I voted for a reslution, declaring among other things that "Congress has no power under the Constitution to le gislate upon the subject of Slavery in any way. That resolution was voted for by all my party is the Legislature, it being understood at the time that it had reference to the subject of Slavery in the Territories. So understanding it, I remarked to the Speaker when I voted for it, in the House, that it of course, was not intended to declare that Congress could not pass a law for recapture of fugitives, when it was stated that it had no reference to the action of Congress in regard to

I voted, said Mr. Hatton, for the Tax Assessor and County Judge Bills. With the leading men of both sides of the House, I believed those laws would benefit my constituents and the State. The Assessor law is working badly-is not acomplishing the object of its enactment. As an experiment it has, for some reason, failed. I am, therefore, for its repeal.

Most of the counties of the State, say they are unwilling to be subjected to the expense of supporting the office of County Judge. Howev- barrel in every respect, to any new in use, of Machine or desirable it may be that there should be a Handmake.

Samples of Barre's and Stock, can be seen at Hick's County Judge, still if the people are unwilling to pay his salary, they should be relieved of Then, let the law be repealed. If there are counties, that want the officer, they can say so, through their representatives, and the legislature will give them a Judge, they paying his salary as now.

My competitor says I voted against a bill. which he calls a Mechanics' lien bill. That bill n the opinion of the best lawyers in the House, so far from being calculated to benefit the mechanic, was calculated to produce an infinite amount of litigation between the small and poor land holder and the mechanic. So manifest was this that a member from East Tennessee moved to amend the title so that it would read-A bill to prevent poor men from owning land and creating lawyers' fees. There is in Tennessee a most excellent law for the benefit of mechancs, giving him a lien in certain cases. It is right that he should have it, and if the rights of the mechanic can be still better secured, by an additional statute, without endangering the rights of others, and producing injurious liti-

tion, it should be done."

Gen. Harris objects to my Normal School Bill, said Mr. Hatton. How much would the estabishment of that school have cost each person in ece. How much to sustain it annually? Just | at Fairs. one-half cent apiece. The cost would then have been trifling. Was it calculated to do any good, then, is the question. The Union and American, the organ of Gen. Harris, and I believe every democratic paper in the State, but one, favored my bill. The Union and American ontained more matter in its support during its endency, than all other papers in the city gether, arging it upon the members of the gislature as a measure most important and ritorious, and which should, by all means enacted into a law. But, what was the ject of the school proposed to be established? was to educate poor and virtuous young men teaching them how to teach, who would pledge emselves to become the teachers of the comon schools and declare that it was their purose to make that their business for life. Now ere are thousands of poor persons in Tennese, who are unable to give their children any ther education, than what they may chance to get, in the common district school, the teacher of which is employed by the Commission ers of Common Schools, and who is paid out of the school fund. They are unable to ever pay one cent of tuition. To the children of such per sons, I desired to furnish teachers that were

ualified to instruct them. Gen. Harris and I, said Mr. Hatton, are able command the services of the best teachers for sur children. Many of you are not. I desired to educate teachers, who would pledge themselves to go ut to the common school house, in the cove of the countain and poor districts of the State, and there teach-furnishing alike to the poor as well as to the rich man's child, a teacher capable of nstructing him.

I am proud, said Mr. Hatton, that I had the onor of introducing such a measure in the Tennessee Legislature. All I regret about it is, that the bill was not enacted into a law. My time having expired, said Mr. Hatton, give way to my opponent, who will again address you, after which I will close the debate.

\* Gen Harris says, in his printed speech, that this bill was deleated by the vote of "his competitor and others." He does not say who "the other." were. Among them were 50 democrate, every one in the House but seven. The mo-tion that killed it was made by Mr. Cavitt, a democrat.-

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Southern Commercial College, No. 49 1-2 Cherry Street, NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE.

THIS School is in purpetual receion—hence, students of other schools who do ire to qualify themselves for the Counting room, can do so during their vacation.

Our Boom has been recently fitted up, and for comfort, convenience and elegance, we know that it is not surpassed by any other in the United States.

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